

NOTES ON  
SIX HUNDRED YEARS  
OF ALLIANCE

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# NOTES ON SIX HUNDRED YEARS OF ALLIANCE.

By JOSÉ D'ALMADA.

THE DEVELOPMENT of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance may be explained by reference to the series of events which underline the common interests of the two countries dating from the fourteenth century. Political alliances are usually preceded by economic relations, and the Anglo-Portuguese friendship is no exception to this rule. But these economic relations should be reviewed against the background of a Western Atlantic community of interests in the Middle Ages. Apart from contacts among seafarers, there was more especially the community of interest which the Roman Catholic Church was establishing in place of the local pagan traditions, which had succeeded the unity of the Roman Empire. The history of Portugal in the twelfth century shows how these movements were embracing Portugal, as for instance, in 1196, when the monks of Cluny founded Alcobaça and introduced into Portugal not only new methods of agriculture, but new ideas and new contacts with the rest of Europe.

Documents reveal the early existence of commercial relations between England and Portugal. As early as 1353 a document written in French and signed by Edward III of England and the representative of the merchants of Lisbon and Oporto, granted reciprocal facilities of trade for a period of fifty years. But the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance first came into existence as a result of Portugal's fear of the growing power and ambitions of Castille. The Kingdoms of Aragon and Castille were consolidated in the Iberian Peninsula at about the same time as Portugal was.

In the fourteenth century Portugal felt obliged to counterbalance the power of Castille by seeking political support outside the Peninsula and the first

## TREATY OF ALLIANCE AND FRIENDSHIP OF 1373 <sup>(1)</sup>

was signed in London on the 16th June, 1373, between King Edward III and King Fernando of Portugal. The obvious objective was security against Castille.

"Mutual and perpetual friendships, unions, alliances and leagues of sincere affection, and that as true and faithful friends they shall henceforth reciprocally be friends to friends and enemies to enemies, and shall assist and maintain and uphold each other mutually by sea and by land against all men that may live or die. . . .

"They shall strive for and preserve, as much as in them lies, the personal safety, security, interest and honour, and the harmlessness, conservation and restitution of their rights, property, effects and friends, whosoever they be. They shall everywhere faithfully prevent the hurts and injuries disgrace or baseness which they know to be intended or contemplated against the other party, and shall provide remedies for them. . . .

"Neither party shall form friendships with the enemies, rivals or persecutors of the other party, or knowingly himself or through others, advise and or favour the enemies, rivals or persecutors of the other party, to his detriment, hurt or prejudice, or gratify them in any way, receive them into his Kingdom, lands, dominions, provinces or places. . . ."

An exception was made in the case of exiles, unless they had been convicted of high treason, when they were to be handed over or banished at the request of the injured party.

"If the Kingdom, lands, dominions or places of the other party should happen to be infested, oppressed or invaded by sea or by land, by enemies . . . or if these enemies should at least purpose prepare or in any manner appear anxious to infest, oppress or invade, and the other party apply for assistance or succour of troops . . . ships . . . or any kind of defence, then shall the said party so required *bona fide* furnish, supply and send the said succour to the requiring party for the protection of the Kingdom menaced with such invasions . . . at the cost, expense and pay of the party requiring to be strictly estimated by four military men of experience, or able and discreet members of the legal profession . . . within such time as, after the aforesaid requisition, a similar succour ought to be prepared and sent, regard being had both to the pressing occasion of the party requiring and to the possibility of the party called upon being able to complete his preparations. . . ."



The stipulations were reciprocal and had a military object in view. At this time the power of the signatory states was not so unequal as in the later periods, since the population of England and Portugal stood at eight millions and two millions respectively.

Domestic troubles began to afflict Portugal after King Fernando's death. A pro-Spanish policy at court provoked a revolt in favour of a pretender, who was triumphantly installed as King João I. England had sympathised with the Portuguese party, by permitting recruiting from 1383, and in 1385, at the famous battle of Aljubarrota English soldiers fought with the Portuguese against the Castilians. The Kingdom was reorganised politically by the Chancellor João das Regras, who had been educated in Bologna and had absorbed the ideas prevailing in the North Italian Republics.

#### TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND ALLIANCE OF 1386 (WINDSOR) <sup>(2)</sup>

The Treaty that preceded the marriage of João I with Philippa of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt, was signed on 9th May, 1386, at Windsor and consisted of thirteen articles.

In substance its stipulations were the same as those of the treaty of 1373 but the wording was different and there were some new clauses.

"There shall be inviolate and endure for ever . . . a solid, perpetual and real league, amity, confederacy and union . . . not only between the Kings and their successors, but also in favour of the Kingdoms, lands, dominions and countries and their subjects, vassals, allies and friends whatsoever, so, that either of them shall be bound to succour and afford aid to the other against all men . . . who shall attempt to violate the peace of the other or injure its State. . . .

"By desire of the King of England be excepted . . . our Lord the Supreme Pontiff Urban, now reigning, and his successors canonically elected and the Lord Wenceslas of the Grace of God, King of the Romans and of Bohemia and John, by the same Grace of God King of Castille and Leon, Duke of Lancaster and uncle of the illustrious King of England. . . ."

It was mutually agreed that no counsel, aid or favour would be afforded to any nation which might be at enmity with or rebelling against either party.

The signatory powers' fear of treason is illustrated by the wording of Article IV :

"In case one of the Kings need the support or succour of the other and . . . apply for assistance . . . then the party so applied to shall be obliged to afford such help to the requiring party . . . in as far as is compatible with the dangers threatening himself, his Kingdom . . . and subjects . . . all which, however, to be at such reasonable charge and expense of the requiring party as shall have been agreed upon. . . ."

Movable effects captured from the enemy by the King who had come to the assistance of the other were to belong to the King who had furnished such help and aid (Art. V). Captured generals or admirals were to be delivered to the King who had furnished the principal expenses required for equipping the armament in question, without prejudicing the just claims of those who had captured such leaders. . . . Immovable property was to be surrendered to the King of England or of Portugal whichever of the two could claim in right of succession (Art. VI).

"Should one of the parties learn discover or anticipate any injury, contumely or disadvantage to have been planned or meditated against the other party . . . he shall prevent it, as much as in him lies, as though he were desirous of preventing the injury and contumely intended in his own interest, and shall endeavour, by all means in his power, that such design . . . may be brought to the notice of the other party against which it is so intended, and every artifice, deceit and invention shall be abstained from . . . (Art. VII).

"No truce or armistice should be accepted by one of the Kings without the other being comprised and enjoy such truce or armistice.

"Should the subjects of one of the Kings, in contravention to the present alliance, attempt to or perpetrate any mischief or damage by means of inroads into cities, invasions of boroughs, capture of forts, depredations and robberies it is stipulated that the King whose subjects have committed such outrage . . . shall be obliged to repair and make good the like outrages and duly to correct and punish such delinquents to the pleasure and discretion of the King on whom such injury shall



"have been inflicted . . . provided always that the present Alliance be not, for that reason, thought "or considered as broken, dissolved or annulled in any manner, but do always continue in force "and retain its validity . . . no act of violence . . . shall be deemed sufficient cause for dissolving or "infringing the . . . Alliance on the contrary, while satisfaction is agreed to be given for the outrages " . . . the present league shall, notwithstanding and without any interruption, continue in force . . . "(Art. X)."

Should either of the Kings "have any injury done to the other by making or causing to be made "by their people, or by permitting or procuring open war on the other . . . it is provided . . . that "the party committing such excess . . . shall lose the benefits which, by the present league, he would "derive from the goodwill of the other party so outraged, and that it shall be competent to the same "outraged party, if he choose, to infringe the preceding Alliance, or to proceed (while the league "remains in force) for the advantage of the said party so injured to redress the outrages, in whatever "way it may appear to him proper, nor shall, on that account, any imputation of perjury, ignominy, "or any other penalty or charge of criminality attach to him (Art. XI).

"Furthermore, it is provided that all heirs and Successors of the above Kings each in their time, "shall within a year to be calculated always from the day of his coronation, be obliged, and every one "of them, in his time, solemnly and publicly and in the presence of noble and trusty persons, to swear "to, renew, ratify, and confirm by a public attestation, as well as by their Great Seal, the present "Alliance and shall be also bound, in testimony of having so sworn to, renewed, approved and con- "firmed it, to make out public letters or Documents, and, by means of a safe and credible person, "to send or address those Letters, furnished as aforesaid with the Great Seal to the other Party, as "quickly as it conveniently can be accomplished, and in so doing, all deceit, art, malice or neglect "of every sort shall be avoided (Art. XII)."

The last and thirteenth article provides that "the league, after being concurred in, transcribed "and sealed, shall be solemnly sworn to, not only by us, the aforesaid Commissioners and Procurators, "on the souls of our above mentioned masters, but also by the aforesaid Lords the Kings themselves, "as principals, previous to being delivered to the parties. . . ."

These two fourteenth century treaties were signed within an interval of thirteen years, the first at London and the second at Windsor.

The second treaty of May, 1386, is known as the Treaty of Windsor. It establishes reciprocity when having stated the solid, perpetual and real league, amity, etc., it said that either of the Kings was bound to succour and afford aid to the other.

It introduced a new rule when it stipulated that neither country might aid any nation or party which was hostile to or rebelling against either party. This stipulation so far as Portugal was concerned had Castille in mind and the rebels to which it referred were the Castellians or their partisans who had provoked troubles in Portugal after King Fernando's death. It was intended to frustrate any inclination of the King of England to follow the example of France by negotiating with the Spanish Kingdoms of Navarre, Aragon, Castille and Catalonia to procure allies in the Hundred Years' War.

The cautious wording of Article IV is worthy of note. In case of one of the Kings applying for assistance, the party so applied to "shall be obliged to afford such help . . . *in as far as is* "compatible with the dangers threatening himself, his Kingdoms, lands . . . and subjects, yet so as that "no artifice, deceit or invention shall be practised, and that he be strictly bound by the present "league to perform. . . ."

Assistance, therefore, was not automatic. The party "so applied to" had the right to weigh the dangers that such assistance might entail. The two Kings were to arrange the expenses between them, but no deceit or artifice was permitted and consequently no false pretences were admitted. This obligation was much more precise than the vague promise contained in the Treaty of 1373.

The property of movables would belong to the party furnishing help. This principle was perhaps inspired by the Maritime Code of Venice (Conolato del Mare, 1255).

In the event of the leading Commanders of the enemy being made prisoners they were to be delivered to the King who had furnished the principal expenses required for the conduct of the war



"without prejudice . . . to the remuneration or reward due by that King to him or to them who shall capture such leaders." . . . This strange stipulation aimed at preventing the possible escape of important leaders.

Immovable property was to be delivered to the King of England or of Portugal whichever of the two could claim the right of succession or was able to make good his pretensions in a Court of Judicature.

It was wisely decided that the parties were obliged to bring to the notice of the other any design that might endanger the party against which it was so intended.

The enthusiasm felt in England for the cause of João I was such that London merchants and other wealthy persons had advanced large sums as loans between 1384 and 1385. While the Treaty of Windsor was being negotiated with Richard II, the Portuguese Ambassadors were commissioned to raise loans to meet the Portuguese King's needs. A notarial document dated 16th April, 1386, and cited by Shillington, reveals the pledge of the two Ambassadors to pay the sum of £1,000 in Lisbon, and in case of default neither of the two Ambassadors was to "bear arms nor to be armed till full payment had been made". In the event of failure to pay at all, they were to be accounted false knights.

The stipulation that no armistice should be signed unilaterally is strange; but in politics all precautions are necessary. The validity of the Alliance notwithstanding acts of war, is noteworthy.

But Article XII providing for the renewal and ratification of the Treaty each time one of the Kings died, was a novel principle in Portugal, at least. Such renewals afforded opportunities to adapt it to new circumstances, and were a wise principle of international law, which, in regard to Portugal, is only to be found in this Treaty, thereby avoiding the application of the principle *rebus sic stantibus*. This clause was observed throughout the fifteenth century and for part of the sixteenth.

In the last decades of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese Crown fell into Spanish hands, relations with England suffered. Before the sixteenth century relations between England and Portugal were strengthened by royal marriages, by trade and by commercial intercourse, direct and indirect, through Antwerp and the Hanseatic Towns among others.

João I of Portugal granted privileges to the English, similar to those enjoyed by the subjects of Pisa and Genoa. Later on he granted the "most favoured nation treatment" to British subjects in Portugal. The Portuguese were supposed to enjoy the same treatment in England, but complaints were numerous against the behaviour of English authorities. The number of Portuguese in England was estimated at seven.

## CONDITIONS IN EUROPE.

The Treaties of the fourteenth century were influenced by the situation in Europe. The Hundred Years' War between France and England had started in 1337. Papal intervention in favour of France was feared by England. The Great Schism remained unsolved. Conditions in Northern Europe were uncertain, but trade was expanding in the Hanseatic League and Flanders. Changes were taking place in the Mediterranean, where Venice had already lost her preponderance. The prevailing spirit of the Middle Ages was showing signs of weakness all over Europe. The maritime power of England was beginning to make itself felt in the Atlantic, and France was contesting it. The Iberian Peninsula had just entered into the European arena, but only partially as Spain remained divided into several Kingdoms and was still partially occupied by the Moors.

Trade relations between Portugal and England increased during the Hundred Years' War. The wine trade expanded, and commercial privileges were granted to English merchants in the fourteenth century. By the Treaty of 1353 the Portuguese merchants of Lisbon and Oporto promised to do no harm to any English merchants who might visit their country. An edict of Pedro I, issued in 1363, granted the English merchants the right to carry in their ships such goods as they chose. Fernando, who succeeded Pedro in 1363, granted special facilities to the English in 1367, by authorising the judge of the Custom House of Lisbon to be the sole judge of lawsuits between English and Portuguese merchants. It was Fernando's desire "to favour the English merchants" (Shillington and Chapman, *Commercial Relations of England and Portugal*, page 50).



It is noteworthy that although hitherto Portuguese ships alone had been permitted to carry merchandise abroad, the English were now allowed to transport to their own country such goods as they desired, in their own ships.

When the policy adopted in England by Edward III ceased after his death, complaints were made by the Portuguese merchants against the English authorities in the reign of Richard II, but the trade movement had started and continued to expand.

Trade in Richard II's reign was so profitable that measures had to be taken in Portugal against the smuggling of English goods into the country. Relations were not, however, free from complications; the Kings of Portugal had contracted loans in England, and the creditors acting on their own authority, seized Portuguese merchandise and molested Portuguese merchants. This state of affairs was modified under Henry IV, but the privileges enjoyed by English merchants in Portugal were not extended to the Portuguese in England.

Portuguese traders in the fifteenth century protested against their unprivileged position in England; but trade continued to expand while English wheat, barley, tin, lead, arms and armour were being exported to Portugal in Portuguese ships.

Notwithstanding the Alliance and commercial interests, the Portuguese and English traders were exposed to violence at the hands of nationals of both countries at sea and on shore. In the *Libelle of English Polycye*, a poem of the year 1436, an accurate description of Anglo-Portuguese trade may be found.

### PORTUGUESE VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY.

The position of Portugal in regard to England changed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries after the discovery of new territories. Under Afonso V many English lived in Lisbon where they had their own chapel called S. Domingos, in which notices referring to their trade were posted so that nobody could plead ignorance of the Portuguese King's decrees. The English community in Portugal was already so important in the fifteenth century that "they could take full advantage of the new prosperity of Portugal, due to the discoveries. The commercial relations of the two countries during the closing years of the fifteenth century seem to have been of the friendliest, England's cloth trade to Portugal maintaining its high standard, while the Portuguese wine trade with England steadily increased" (Shillington).

After the discovery of the sea-route to India, the Portuguese became the chief trading nation in Europe. Venice no longer held the monopoly of trade with the East. Its relations with Flanders and with Northern Europe were altered. The Mediterranean ceased to be a closed sea under Venetian rule. The riches of Africa, Brazil and India were flowing to Lisbon; markets were opened in Europe; communications developed; the interchange of merchandise brought about the interchange of money and of ideas and new contacts were established. During the sixteenth century a new aspect appeared in the relations with England, when the Kings of Portugal turned increasingly toward the Austrian and Spanish dynasties. Trade, however, was expanding with England. During most of the sixteenth century documents show that the Portuguese merchants claimed the same treatment in England as that accorded to the English merchants in Portugal. Numerous cases of piracy, of seizure of goods, of protests, of loans raised in England fill the archives. In the middle of the sixteenth century the very important question of freedom of trade in the overseas territories was raised. English adventurers raided the newly discovered lands or seized the cargoes destined for Lisbon.

Clause XII of the Treaty of Windsor, which provided for the ratification and renewal of the treaty upon the death of a Sovereign was no longer observed during the last reign. In 1571, under King Sebastião, there were negotiations with Queen Elizabeth in order to conclude a Treaty of Alliance and Commerce, which was signed in February 1572. What is noteworthy in this document is that no mention is made of the treaties of the fourteenth century, notwithstanding the fact that perpetual friendship and alliance is reiterated.

Article IV of the treaty is the most important, since it denied the right of English subjects to visit the overseas possessions of Portugal, under pain of serious penalty. English subjects were



admitted to the French and Spanish privilege of trading with Portugal, Algarve and Madeira, the Azores and the settlements in Africa where they had formerly traded. A period of three months was allowed for ratification.

### SPANISH OCCUPATION.

Philip II occupied the Portuguese throne in 1580; England tried in vain to induce France to dissuade Philip II from annexing Portugal. Trade relations suffered immediately from the Spanish annexation, and the pepper trade under James I was transferred from Lisbon to Cadiz, while the English began to find their own way to India, thereby attacking the trade monopoly of the Portuguese Crown with the East.

In 1586 a Portuguese Protestant guided English ships to the Moluccas Islands and in 1589 English merchants suggested to Parliament that there was room for another European nation in India. The East India Company was founded in 1600 by a royal charter. Philip II died in 1598.

Commercial relations with England were regulated by treaty in 1604 under Philip III. The conditions were similar to those of the Treaty of 1571/72 with regard to colonial trade, which remained exclusive. The Inquisition determined the concentration of trade in Lisbon.

David J. Hill says in *A History of European Diplomacy*: "The partition of unknown portions of the World by Spain and Portugal had for its first result the rivalry of these two countries, whose ethnographical differences and national antipathies were thus rendered more difficult to reconcile. But its effect upon the world at large was of far greater importance for it created that most complicated of international problems, the Colonial Question. It was inevitable that the rest of the world should at some time assert its rights to a portion of the maritime trade and colonial possessions by which Spain and Portugal were then enriched. . . . The struggle for colonial supremacy was to open new conflicts to be fought out in Asia and America and upon the sea. It was, without doubt, in great measure, the colonial question that increased the bitterness of the rivalry between France and Spain, and later between England and Spain. . . ."

Philip II's policy in England and in Europe had consequences of great importance for the destiny of Portugal and the world. But other moral and intellectual factors also had their effect and Spain's predominance was not maintained.

### PORTUGUESE REBELLION—1640.

The defeat of the Spanish Armada, the revolt of the Low Countries, the able policy of Richelieu and the Reformation, among other developments, helped to create a new situation in Europe. Portugal, in December, 1640, threw off the sovereignty of Spain, and by the Treaty of Paris of 1st February, 1641, the Duke of Bragança secured the assistance of the French fleet in return for his alliance. Having succeeded in obtaining French support, João IV approached England. The negotiations lasted several months, during which difficulties were raised concerning trade with Africa and in the overseas territories, freedom of religion being one of the obstacles.

The English Parliament, during the negotiations, refused permission to the King of Spain to recruit Irishmen for his army, on the grounds that such recruitment would constitute a hostile move against the Portuguese (27th August, 1641).

### TREATY OF 1642<sup>(3)</sup>

On the 29th January, 1642, the Treaty of Peace and Commerce was signed in London between Charles I of Great Britain and João IV of Portugal.

"It was concluded and accorded that there should be . . . peace and amity between the Kings, their heirs and successors and their Kingdoms . . . and that neither should do nor attempt anything against each other or their Kingdoms, nor should adhere or consent to any war, counsel or treaty in prejudice of the other. . . ."

"The present peace and alliance should in no way derogate from the alliance formerly contracted by the King of Great Britain."



The said Kings undertook to "faithfully observe all that was concluded and accorded and not to do anything contrary to the same treaty. There should be liberty of commerce between the subjects of the two Kings not only in their kingdom but also in their dominions and islands. The subjects of the said Kings should enjoy the liberty of entering and leaving the Country of the other party without a safe-conduct or special licence, and to buy and sell freely their goods after paying the respective duties. The subjects of both Kings were to be treated as nationals in each other's country." The English were granted full liberty of trade in the Portuguese territories in Europe, where they were to receive the same treatment as other nationals, and to pay no duties or taxes other than those levied on all foreigners. The privileges granted to the English in Portugal were to be maintained. Privileges were granted by King Fernando, by King João I, by King Affonso V in 1452, by King Manuel I in 1495 and João IV in 1647. According to the latter the English were under the jurisdiction of no judges save their own, appointed to try exclusively English cases. They could not be arrested except by order of their judge; they were exempt from taxes and they were allowed to carry arms by night and day. English ships in Portuguese harbours were not compelled to load any cargo they did not want, and the same privilege was extended to Portuguese vessels in England. It was agreed that goods belonging to English subjects and seized by the Inquisition were to be returned to their owners. The officers and crews of English ships in Portugal and Englishmen in the service of the Portuguese crown were granted immunity from all interference by the Roman Catholic Church. English Consuls appointed to Portuguese territory were to enjoy full authority even if they did not profess the Roman Catholic religion.

The property of Englishmen who had died in Portugal was to be administered by the factors or the agents appointed by the deceased person or, when no provision had been made, by the English Conservator.

No English ships were to be arrested in Portugal, and the ships were free to leave the harbours when they pleased.

English merchants were free to transport in their ships whatever goods they pleased to Portuguese ports, except those destined for Castille. However the King of Portugal would not impede trade being carried by English ships to the ports and territories of the King of Castille and this right was reciprocal.

The Portuguese undertook not to disturb English trade and commerce in Africa, Guiné, Bene and the Island of S. Thomé where English traders had established themselves while Portugal was under Spanish rule.

If taxes were levied they were not to exceed those imposed on other nationals and these principles were to be observed until the question had been settled by special commissioners. English subjects were accorded the same treatment as the Dutch in exporting and importing and secured the "most favoured nation" treatment. The question of chartering ships for trade with Brazil was to be settled by special commissioners.

English subjects were not to be molested on account of religion, provided that they caused no public scandal.

In the event of differences arising between the two Kings, which interrupted trade, it was agreed that two years would be granted to their respective subjects for the transport of their goods free of all impediment.

In the event of the peace and amity established by this Treaty being disturbed the Treaty was to continue in force and the aggressors alone were to be punished. As Shillington observes, the prohibition of direct trade from Portugal to Spain is the only allusion to the quarrel between the Peninsular nations. He says further: "the question of Africa, however, which had been acute in 1576, was at length dealt with: wherever the British had hitherto been wont to trade in Africa, they might now trade, paying duties no higher than were imposed on other friendly nations; further, if foreign ships were needed for Portuguese African commerce those of the English might be employed, and commissioners were to be appointed on both sides to settle a free commerce."

More points of difference were presented by the questions of India and Brazil which had become prominent during the last sixty years. The East India Company had already been driven by Dutch rivalry to make a treaty, in 1635/36, with the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa, and this Treaty they desired to see maintained.



The question of Brazil was more difficult: English trade had existed there since 1540 and the Spanish annexation of Portugal apparently failed to have any serious effect upon this growing trade.

#### TREATY OF 1654 <sup>(4)</sup>

After the revolution in England and the events in France and in the Peninsula, a new treaty between Portugal and England became necessary.

Although the privileges of the English had been renewed in 1647 there remained the problem of the exclusive trade with Brazil, which the Brazil Company had enjoyed since 1648 to the detriment of British interests.

The sympathy of King João IV for King Charles I irritated Cromwell. Prince Rupert's stay in Portugal did not contribute to good relations with the victors, but in 1654 Cromwell signed a treaty with Portugal granting the English a privileged position. Goods on English ships sailing with the Portuguese fleet to Brazil were to pay the same duties as the Portuguese; English merchants were free to trade with Brazil except in fish, wine, oil and Brazil woods, which remained the exclusive right of the Brazil Company. If extra ships were required by the Portuguese for trade with Brazil, the Portuguese were to hire only English vessels—free ships made free goods.

English consuls were to be unmolested on account of their religion and were to be appointed by the Protector.

Property left by deceased Englishmen was to be administered by the merchants approved by the Consul.

A Judge Conservator was appointed to settle all questions with English merchants and appeal could be lodged in the highest court within four months. The English had the right to employ brokers, under the same regulations as the Portuguese; they could carry arms and live where they chose and they paid no dues except to the King and the Chamber at Lisbon. No Englishman could be arrested save by warrant of the Judge Conservator; Englishmen might sue any Portuguese for debt and no protection would be of avail against English claims.

There was freedom of religion for Englishmen and they enjoyed the right of practising it in their houses and ships. Debts from persons arrested by the Inquisition were to be paid from the prisoner's estates within six months. Special provision was made for the loading and unloading of ships. Questions concerning the quality of the provisions were to be referred to arbitrators not of Portuguese nationality, to be chosen by the English consul and the Portuguese Magistrate.

No more than 23 per cent could be levied on English goods imported into Portugal. Arbitrators chosen by the English consul and the Custom House were to settle all disputes over the value of goods. No alteration of the Customs might be made without the presence and consent of two English merchants residing in Portugal. All these stipulations were the object of long controversies. It is reported that the Portuguese Ambassador in London acquiesced suddenly to all the demands because he wanted to be out of England during the execution of his brother Dom Pantaleão de Sá, in the Tower of London.

The advantages gained by the English were too great. The animosity caused by most of the privileges was such that the ratification of the Treaty was delayed for two years, and it took place then only under threat of the fleet under Blake's command.

As Shillington says: "The Treaty of 1654 may be considered as the zenith of the English ascendancy over Portugal. The English trading with Portugal, or residing there, were henceforth in a situation more advantageous than that of the Portuguese themselves; and this privileged position may have contributed to the extraordinary predominance which the English exercised over Portuguese trade during the early eighteenth century. On the other hand it certainly increased Portuguese jealousy and hatred of England. . . ." This treaty, like many others may have been inspired by the Franco-Turkish treaty of 1536 granting similar privileges in Turkey to the French and stimulating French trade in Turkey as well as cultural relations in the Levant.

Cromwell announced the Treaty in Parliament on 4th September, 1654, as follows: "You have peace likewise with Portugal, which peace though it being long in hand yet is lately concluded. "It is a peace that your merchants make us believe is of good concernment to their trade thither



“than to other places. And this hath been obtained in that treaty (which never was since the “Inquisition was set up there), that our people which trade thither have liberty of conscience” (Johannes Albrecht).

## CONDITIONS IN EUROPE

War continued in Portugal against the Spaniards after the proclamation of independence in 1640. In 1641 an alliance was made with France and Catalonia. In 1643 the French occupied Roussillon and in 1648 the Peace of Munster was concluded. Notwithstanding the treaties of Westphalia, war continued with Spain, Portugal being supported by France. France took Barcelona and Catalonia and the Spaniards took Gravelines and Dunkerque (1652). The Spaniards lost Jamaica to the English in 1655 and the Portuguese lost Olivença in 1657. The French concluded the peace of the Pyrenees with the Spaniards in 1659 so that Spain was free to launch the invasion of Portugal under John of Austria in 1661. By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668) Spain returned Flanders to France and by the Treaty of Lisbon of the same date the independence of Portugal was recognised.

Political and economic relations between Portugal and England reflected the general European situation.

## TREATY OF 1661 <sup>(5)</sup>

The marriage of Catherine of Bragança with Charles II was the object of long political negotiations. The plan was opposed by France and Spain. Both these Powers offered other Princesses with promises of endowments. However Charles II and his advisers accepted the Portuguese Princess who brought as her dowry Tangiers and Bombay with other advantages. This was the first royal marriage between the two reigning families for two centuries.

The Treaty of Peace and Alliance preceding the marriage was signed in London, at Whitehall, on 23rd June, 1661, and ratified in Lisbon on 20th September, 1661.

Article I stipulates that all treaties between Great Britain and Portugal *since 1641* should be ratified and confirmed on all points. Article II granted Tangiers to the King of Great Britain. Article III provided that those of the inhabitants of Tangiers who wished, might continue to reside there and be free to practise the Roman Catholic religion. Those who preferred to return to Portugal were to be provided with ships by Great Britain for the return voyage. Article V provided for the payment of the dowry to the Princess. The amount was fixed at 2 million cruzados. The King of England paid all the expenses of the Princess's passage to her new country. The Princess and her court were free to follow the Roman Catholic religion, and to facilitate this a chapel was provided in all the royal palaces. The Princess was free to choose her own chaplain and priests, and the King of England promised not to interfere with the Queen's religious beliefs and he also promised to grant the Queen thirty thousand pounds per annum, with palaces and houses duly furnished. The Treaty provided that the Queen's household was to be established after her arrival in England. If the Queen survived the King she was to be free to return to Portugal, taking with her all her jewellery and effects; the annuity of £30,000 was to continue and the return passage to be made at the expense of Great Britain.

The island of Bombay was ceded to Great Britain to promote the expansion of British trade in the East Indies and to increase the ability of Great Britain to defend Portuguese subjects in those lands against the Dutch (Article XI). The Roman Catholic religion was declared free.

English merchants were free to reside in all dependencies of Portugal and to enjoy the same treatment as nationals in the towns of Goa, Cochin and Dio, although no more than four families were permitted in each place. The same applied to Bahia, Pernambuco and Rio de Janeiro. It was agreed that if the English should capture any place occupied by the Dutch which had formerly belonged to Portugal such places were to remain under English sovereignty. As regards Ceylon, in the event of its conquest by Portugal the port of Galle was to return to England, Colombo remaining Portuguese, the trade in cinnamon was to be shared between the English and the Portuguese, and if the island was conquered by England, Colombo was to return to Portugal.



Under these considerations the King of Great Britain promised to take the interest of Portugal and all its dominions to heart, "defending the same with his utmost power . . . even as England itself" (Art. XV). Further, the same King promised that "when and as often as Portugal shall be invaded, he will send thither ten good ships of war" (Art. XVI). In case "Lisbon, Porto or any sea town shall be besieged or blocked up by the Power of Castille or any other enemy . . . the King of Great Britain . . . will afford timely assistance of men and shipping according to the exigency of the circumstances and proportionate to the necessity of the King of Portugal" (Art. XVII).

The King of Great Britain "promises not to make peace with Castille, and that he will never deliver Dunkirk or Jamaica unto the King of Castille, nor ever forbear to do any act that is necessary for the relief of Portugal, though by doing so he shall be engaged in a war with the King of Castille" (Art. XVIII).

"The Princess should relinquish her rights to the heritage of her father and mother, but not to any possible rights to the throne of Portugal. . . ."

A secret article is annexed to this Treaty reading: "It is concluded and agreed that the King of Great Britain having regard of the great advantages and increase of dominion . . . shall promise and oblige himself . . . to defend and protect all the conquests or colonies belonging to the Crown of Portugal against all his enemies, as well future as present. . . ."

In case any towns, forts, castles or any other places shall be taken by the Dutch after 1661 the King of Great Britain promises to oblige the Dutch "to a perfect restitution thereof".

The first article of the Treaty restricted the confirmation and ratification to those treaties of Alliance concluded since 1641 and seemed to ignore the treaties of the fourteenth century. In fact the Treaty of Windsor had provided that each time a new sovereign was acclaimed, an embassy was to be sent to the other King, with the object of ratifying, confirming and renewing the Alliance, but from the closing decades of the sixteenth century and during the Spanish annexation no such acts had taken place. The reciprocity of the fourteenth century did not reappear in the treaties of the seventeenth century. It is the King of Great Britain who promises to take the interest of Portugal to heart, defending the same, but there is no reciprocal clause.

All commercial privileges were maintained by this treaty and the territories overseas were opened to British trade, under the "most favoured nation" treatment.

## END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The last decades of the seventeenth century were characterised by wars and internal troubles in most of the European nations. In Portugal the adaptation of the country to a state of independence was not an easy task; education was entirely classical, no agricultural progress had been made, industries were at a standstill, colonial riches were exhausted, foreign intrigues in the country were rife, and municipal liberties had been abolished. Few institutions and traditions had survived the sixty years of foreign rule. The Portuguese army had fought well against Spain, the Spanish army had evacuated Portugal in 1665 and Portugal's independence was recognised by Spain in 1668, peace had been made with the Low Countries in 1669, but France was interfering in the Government of Portugal, causing the arrest of Affonso VI in 1667 and patronising King Pedro II. She was fighting England and Spain and extending her territory. In 1685 the famous Edict of Nantes (1598) was revoked and the French Protestants left France. In this same year the *Code Noir* regulating slave trade was enacted. The War of Succession in Spain in 1701 divided Europe: Austria, Holland and England uniting to oppose France, allied with Bavaria, Savoy and Portugal.

The seventeenth century witnessed the production of *chefs d'œuvres* of the human mind, as Fisher observes in his *History of Europe*. "It heard the first notes of Italian opera. It gave the compass and the barometer to the mariner, the telescope and the microscope to the men of science, quinine and the thermometer to the physician, the shot gun to the sportsman. The comfort of daily life was enriched by the invention of the watch and the clock, and gluttony was robbed of half its grossness by the popularisation of the fork. It was an age of expanding international trade in luxuries. . . ."

"The century of the Puritans and the Jansenists was marked by the discoveries of ices and champagne, by the yet more beneficial importation of tea and coffee and by the introduction of



"wax candles. . . . Yet the age which manifested its energy in these and many other happy ways, "such as street lighting and marine insurance, and the letter post, was, despite its complex "and advancing civilisation, a period of almost uninterrupted war. . . . Democracy was uneducated "and unorganised. The newspaper press was in its infancy. . . . Nine great diplomatic congresses "beginning with Westphalia and ending in Utrecht, attested the growing power of international action, "and the passing away of that stage of European history when the office of universal mediator was "among the Christian people by common consent acknowledged to belong to the Pope. It is also "to be remarked that the wars against France, which fill the reign of Louis XIV were in no sense "waged in a spirit antagonistic to French culture."

The intellectual hegemony of France, however, failed to prevent the trade interests of Portugal from converging upon England. The wine trade increased in importance, and sugar and tobacco played an important part in the exports to England. On the other hand the poverty of Portugal was pointed out by many authors, while the lack of cereals made the country dependent upon the foreign corn market and shipping.

"The exceedingly bad state of the Portuguese currency added to the evil," says Shillington. "In 1686, the Portuguese Government resolved on a reform in the coinage and offered two-thirds of "the value in exchange, to the great dismay of the merchants. . . ." "Few trust the King and none "take his money" wrote Scarborough in 1686/87, quoted by Shillington. "The English sent necessities "like cloth stuffs, belts, worsted stockings, and fish to Portugal, and took Portuguese produce such "as salt, wine, oranges, lemons, oils and 'wonderful quantities of sugars' in exchange. . . . The "French brought only superfluous goods such as silks, cloth of gold, periwigs, etc., and took but "little Portuguese produce in exchange. Yet the Portuguese showed far more amity to them than "to the English."

The Portuguese look "upon our merchants as the only men who will ruin Portugal". However, both French and English merchants provoked the animosity of the Portuguese by smuggling gold and silver.

Considerable efforts were made to make the country self-supporting. In 1682 Englishmen from Colchester were brought to Portugal to give instruction in the art of making the favourite draperies for the local market. In 1677 a Pragmatic was issued prohibiting the Portuguese from wearing foreign-made cloth, belts, etc. The English protested but the Portuguese Ambassador in London replied by asking what Portugal would gain by revoking the prohibitions. On account of these trade quarrels, Portugal at first remained neutral in the conflict between England, France and Holland, and several years passed before Portugal was persuaded to join the English. This was the object of Methuen's mission.

#### TREATY OF 16TH MAY, 1703 <sup>(6)</sup>

This treaty was signed at Lisbon and broke the neutrality of Portugal in the war between England and France. It consisted of twenty articles. All former treaties were confirmed, but no dates are mentioned. There shall be between the Kings and the States a "sincere friendship and "perfect amity", they shall mutually assist one another and each of the said powers shall promote the interest and advantage of the rest as if it were his own. . . . In the event of the Kings of Spain or of France making war upon Portugal on the continent of Europe or in its Dominions beyond the seas "Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and the Lords, the States General shall use their friendly "offices with the said Kings . . . in order to persuade them to observe the terms of peace with "Portugal. . . ." If the good offices proved unsuccessful, Great Britain and Holland "shall make war "upon the Kings who shall carry hostile arms into Portugal." In the event of war Great Britain and Holland were obliged to send to Portugal "a number of men-of-war equal or superior to the "enemy force which threatened to attack the Portuguese harbours". The same principle was applied in the event of war against the Dominions beyond the seas. The aid should continue until the place had been recovered. The auxiliary ships were to remain under Portuguese command.

The 12,000 men promised by Great Britain to defend Portugal herself were to remain under Portuguese command, although paid by Great Britain and Holland. The Allies promised Portugal full liberty to import from their harbours all sorts of military stores. Portugal repeated in Articles



XI and XII the same obligations undertaken by Great Britain and Holland so that there was established perfect reciprocity.

No peace or truce was to be made without the common consent of the three Allies and this league was to be "perpetual and eternal. . . ." (Art. XIV).

In time of peace six men-of-war of the signatory powers would be admitted into the larger ports of Portugal, and in the smaller ones such number as they could conveniently receive.

War was declared on Spain in 1704 and Portuguese troops entered Madrid in 1706. Peace with Spain was signed at Utrecht in 1713.

This Treaty has some interesting aspects. It was a successful conclusion of the mission entrusted to John Methuen, the British Envoy, with the object of separating Portugal from the French and Spanish influence and attracting it to the British side in the war. It shows that the neutrality of Portugal could be proclaimed under the treaties of the seventeenth century and that a new treaty became necessary to remove Portugal from a neutral policy in case of war between England and other Powers. It shows also that the troops acting in Portugal and paid by foreign governments were under Portuguese command.

#### TREATY OF COMMERCE OF 27TH DECEMBER, 1703 <sup>(7)</sup>

known as Treaty of Methuen.

This Treaty had the most important influence on Anglo-Portuguese relations and completed John Methuen's mission. It lasted over a century and consisted of three Articles only. By the first, English woollens, which it had been the custom to admit into Portugal before the prohibition, were once again admitted. Under Article II, the British duty imposed on Portuguese wines was to be one-third lower than that levied on French wines. The third Article promised ratification within two months.

John Methuen, being the son of a wool manufacturer, is said to have secured a monopoly to his own advantage. Furthermore, he signed without previous authority, and had to justify his conduct in Parliament (see *Royal Society Transactions*, 4th Series, page 243, vol. XVI, 1933 and *The Lisbon Factory*, by Sir Richard Lodge.) Whatever his motives, the fact remains that this Treaty of Commerce had a greater influence upon Anglo-Portuguese trade than any other. Wine growing in the Northern districts of Portugal and Madeira developed considerably, and with it all agricultural production, mail increased, commercial relations expanded, and gold and silver bullion from Portugal was sent to England in payment of cloth, leather, fish and other goods imported. Portuguese coins circulated in England. The Portuguese Government protested sharply against this form of payment, and went so far as to prohibit exports of silver and gold coin. The English merchants resisted and for many decades documents show that an acrimonious discussion over this question was taking place.

A regular postal service was created and numerous other contacts were established as a consequence of the famous Methuen Treaty.

Attempts were made in France and Spain to abolish Portuguese privilege in England. They failed; but the discussion in the British Parliament shows that the partisans of Portugal had to fight for the maintenance of the Treaty. Portugal was buying one million pounds sterling of cloth per annum and £150,000 of salt-fish (codfish from Newfoundland was transported in sixty British ships). England bought Portuguese cotton for Manchester, salt for the fisheries of Newfoundland, oranges, tobacco, sugar and wine.

The opposition to Portugal was based on the fact that Portugal levied duties on the goods imported from England. The dispute over the interpretation of this clause of the Treaty lasted several years. The Portuguese Government maintained that the clause of the Treaty meant the freedom of imports under those conditions prevailing before the prohibition, or the payment of existing duties and not the tariff applying before the prohibition. Portugal was free to fix the tariff applying to imports from England.



The English merchants protested against the powers granted to the Superintendent of the Customs who was free to fix duties on his own initiative. This was one of the obstacles to trade. Nevertheless, the success of the Treaty was illustrated by the Marquis of Pombal, in 1760, when he wrote to his Ambassador in Paris that this Treaty was provoking the jealousy of many countries who were endeavouring by all means to destroy the friendly relationship between the two countries.

### CONGRESS OF UTRECHT <sup>(8)</sup>

During the last decades of the seventeenth century and the opening years of the eighteenth century the Portuguese were particularly troubled by the attitude of Spain and France. Various moves against Portugal's independence were made but, thanks to Anglo-Portuguese diplomacy, none succeeded.

The Congress of Utrecht put an end to forty-five years of European wars and to the threat to Portuguese independence. By the Treaty of 6th February, 1715, England guaranteed the Treaty of Peace between Spain and Portugal which was signed at Utrecht on 3rd February, 1715. The King of Great Britain declared himself ready to adopt all reasonable measures which might appear most effective in protecting the King of Portugal from any violence. Under the Treaties of Utrecht a number of pending questions were regulated both in the continent and overseas. It was at Utrecht that Spain recognised the right of England to Gibraltar (Article X of the Treaty of 11th April).

During the eighteenth century the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance was invoked several times when the peace of Europe was disturbed. The overseas territories in South America, the slave trade, the monopolies of trade in different parts of the world, and the expansion of commerce in the Far East, all contributed to the rivalry between the Peninsular states. To meet these new dangers, a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance between the Portuguese and the English was concluded at Goa on 20th August, 1721.

Incidents between the Portuguese authorities and English merchants continued and sometimes the latter were supported by the British Government, with political consequences. But the lack of cereals in Portugal very often put an end to such trade disputes.

The tremendous earthquake of 1st November, 1755, was the occasion of a manifestation of sympathy by the King of Great Britain, his Parliament and people. The British community in Portugal is reported to have lost some eight million pounds sterling (*Santarem*, vol. 18, page 361).

The union of the Bourbons was known as the Family Pact ; Spain at that time was preparing herself to invade Portugal. The Treaties of 1750, 1761 and 1763 between Spain and Portugal related to South America.

The American Independence was an event of first magnitude in the world. Portugal proclaimed its neutrality during the War of Independence ; numerous raids by the French and English were made on the Coast of Portugal, and diplomatic incidents became frequent, as France supported America against Great Britain.

### TREATY OF 26TH SEPTEMBER, 1793 <sup>(9)</sup>

The British entered the war against the French Revolution. A treaty of mutual assistance and reciprocal protection of trade between George III and Queen Maria I of Portugal was signed at London on 26th September, 1793.

The British Fleet was to escort Portuguese merchant ships and in return the Portuguese Fleet was to offer the same service to the British merchant fleet ; Portugal undertook to give Great Britain all the assistance which her position and security allowed.

Portuguese ports were to be closed to French ships and no protection was to be granted to French trade. No peace or truce was to be concluded without common consent (*Santarém*, vol. 18, page 420).

The Portuguese position was complicated by the hesitant policy of Spain towards France. Portugal, above all, wished to remain neutral but, as in the American War of Independence, she found that other nations were not always willing to respect her wishes.



## THE BLOCKADE OF PORTUGAL IN 1801 <sup>(10)</sup>

Napoleon was determined to close Europe to British trade and such a policy included the conquest of Portugal. On 29th January, 1801, Spain had signed treaties with France concerning the invasion of Portugal. On 3rd June, 1803, Portugal had proclaimed her neutrality in the war between France and England, but by 1807 such neutrality was out of the question as is shown by the

## CONVENTION OF 1807 <sup>(11)</sup>

Napoleon insisted upon Portugal declaring war upon Great Britain, closing her ports, confiscating British property and stopping all trade with Great Britain, and the King of Portugal felt that there was no alternative but to leave for Brazil in order to escape possible capture.

The Portuguese Minister in London and George Canning therefore signed the Convention of 22nd October, 1807, by which England promised to occupy no Portuguese dependency without previous notification to the Portuguese Government. The Portuguese authorities in Madeira were to receive instructions to offer no resistance to the landing of British troops, the British Fleet was to convoy the Royal Family to Brazil, and Great Britain was to lend Portugal five thousand men, regular troops to protect the country against the French. The Portuguese Fleet was never to be surrendered to France or Spain, but was to follow the King of Portugal to Brazil, and disabled ships were to be transferred to Great Britain. During the stay of the Royal Family in Brazil, Great Britain was not to recognise as King of Portugal any other Prince, but the heir and legitimate representative of the Royal Family of Bragança.

With a view to executing this Convention and to protecting the embarkation of the Royal Family for Brazil, the forts of Lisbon were to be handed over to the Supreme British Command.

In the event of Portuguese ports being closed to British goods or ships, a port was to be opened in the Island of Santa Catharina or in any other place on the coast of Brazil.

## CONVENTION OF 1808 <sup>(12)</sup>

Another convention concerning Madeira was signed at London on 16th March, 1808. The inhabitants were required to take the oath of allegiance to the British, the Portuguese Governor of the Island was to obey orders given by the British Command, while the British troops were to be paid by the British Treasury.

The internal situation of Portugal was uncertain and the leaders were vacillating. For instance, war had been declared upon Spain in March, 1801, only to be followed by the conclusion of peace in June of the same year. In 1803, Queen Carlota Joaquina was to be found plotting against her husband. The Treaty of Fontainebleau (27th October, 1807) between France and Spain provided for the invasion of Portugal and the partition of Portuguese territories. On 30th November, 1807, the Portuguese Royal Family went to Brazil. French troops arrived in Lisbon and a Franco-Spanish occupation followed. Insurrections took place in the North of Portugal and English troops were landed. The ensuing conflict was interrupted by

## THE CONVENTION OF CINTRA 1808 <sup>(13)</sup>

which regulated the evacuation of the French army under Junot and provided for a truce. Another convention defining the position more precisely was signed on 30th August, 1808. The Portuguese army was very resentful of the fact that it was not mentioned in the Convention of Cintra, which allowed the French to take the booty they had collected. Great indignation in the country was caused by this clause and Castlereagh did not hesitate to condemn it as an attack against private property and condoning French plundering of Portugal. Wellesley, as Commander-in-Chief, had to justify his conduct, although he was not personally responsible for the act.



## SECOND FRENCH INVASION

The French army invaded Portugal for the second time in February, 1809, and occupied Oporto. The French were defeated by the Anglo-Portuguese army and obliged to withdraw. Masséna in 1810 attacked again, winning the battle of Bussaco in September, 1810, whereupon the Anglo-Portuguese forces, under the supreme command of Wellington, withdrew to the lines of Torres Vedras and in 1811 the French were finally driven from Portugal.

## TREATY OF ALLIANCE OF 1810 <sup>(14)</sup>

During the tragic period of French invasions, Britain agreed to negotiate a Treaty of Alliance with Portugal, which was concluded at Rio de Janeiro on 19th February, 1810, together with a Treaty of Commerce of the same date. The Treaty of Alliance was apparently suggested by Portugal in 1808; it fully confirmed the existing treaties, peace was to be preserved, hostilities were to be prevented and all damage done was to be repaired. Great Britain confirmed the Convention of 1807 according to which no other Prince but the legitimate heir of the Royal House of Bragança was to be recognised as King of Portugal. The good relations that existed with the King of Portugal were to be maintained with the Regency of Portugal.

The stipulations of the Convention of 16th March, 1808, relating to the Island of Madeira were to be observed.

British property damaged by the measures adopted in November, 1807, under French compulsion, was to be restored.

The British Government undertook to repair any damage to property in Goa during the occupation by British troops.

In consideration of the services rendered by the British Fleet the King of Portugal conceded to Britain the right to cut wood in Brazil and to build ships there. Each of the contracting Parties agreed that if it was assisted by the other, it should revictual that fleet. The number of British men-of-war in Portuguese ports was no longer limited to six, and the limit on Portuguese warships was similarly removed. The Inquisition, which never had been established in Brazil, was not to be introduced into the Portuguese dominions in South America. Portuguese subjects were not allowed to engage in the slave trade except in Portuguese African territories.

In the secret articles attached to the Treaty, it was stipulated that Great Britain would intervene to establish peace between Portugal and Tripoli and to obtain the restitution of Olivença and Juromenha.

Portugal, in view of these promises and goodwill, declared her determination to abolish the slave trade in Bissau and Cacheu, and to lease for fifty years these two places to Great Britain, provided that Great Britain obtained the restitution of Olivença and Juromenha from Spain, and the former boundaries of Portuguese America with Cayenne.

The Treaty of Commerce signed at the same date showed a decline of Portuguese power. The Chief of State had abandoned the capital and the mainland and taken refuge under the protection of his Ally in Brazil, leaving the country to fight for itself. Portugal was governed by a weak regency, while her troops were under English Command.

## THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

Sir Arthur Wellesley, later Duke of Wellington, displayed his military and political genius during the Peninsular War. He came to Portugal at the invitation of the King. His system of fortifications around Lisbon, known as the Lines of Torres Vedras, was the first of its kind. Over one hundred forts were linked to each other by protected roads; scorched earth policy was employed in places; artillery emplacements covered strategic points; parts of the country were flooded, wind-mills were used as redoubts; food supplies were organised; a system of transport on mule-backs was needed to replace wheel transport rendered impossible on account of the state of the roads;



volunteers, untrained and inexperienced were accepted to man the forts as there were insufficient numbers of regular troops.

Wellington inspired great confidence in the Portuguese. He wished Portugal to be self-supporting as he thought that the country could not always rely on her Eastern frontier being respected nor on the British Fleet being able to protect her food supplies coming from the Atlantic.

### THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA <sup>(15)</sup>

Peace in Europe was made in Vienna in 1815. Portugal signed a Treaty on 22nd January, 1815, with Great Britain abolishing the slave trade, reaffirming the ancient treaties of alliance and abolishing the Treaty of Alliance of 1810. All Powers represented in Vienna signed a declaration abolishing the slave trade on 8th February, 1815.

Webster (*Congress of Vienna*) says that neither Portugal nor Spain obtained the recognition they deserved for their efforts in the struggle against Napoleon.

### THE SLAVE TRADE <sup>(16)</sup>

Additional conventions relating to slavery were signed between Portugal and Great Britain regulating the policing of the seas and indemnities due to injured parties. The importance of the slave trade in Anglo-Portuguese relations persisted for more than a century and relations between the two countries were repeatedly injured by disputed interpretations of the treaties and by conditions prevailing in the overseas territories.

### INTERNAL SITUATION

After the Congress of Vienna the political situation in Portugal was unstable, the King and the Court remaining in Brazil, while the army was commanded by Beresford, who failed to make himself popular. The land was falling into decay, since the sources of income had been exhausted by years of war and privation. New ideas had been introduced into the country by foreign soldiers. In Spain a liberal party had appeared, and a Constitution had been proclaimed at Cadiz in 1812. The Portuguese in general were indifferent to politics, political education was lacking, traditions had been suppressed, and the King showed no inclination to return home. Canning came to Lisbon as a special Ambassador to receive the King, but had to return to London, as the King refused to embark. Beresford went to Rio de Janeiro in order to inform the King of the condition of the country and of the army under his command, and was not allowed to land in Lisbon when he returned from Rio.

### RETURN OF D. JOAO VI

The British Foreign Office was anxious to see the King back in Lisbon, since it appeared to be the only way to restore peace to the country. At last, in 1821 and at the instance of Great Britain, King João VI returned from Rio de Janeiro convoyed by the British Fleet. Various seditious movements had taken place and others followed. Brazil was proclaimed a separate Empire (1822) and the treaty of recognition was ratified in 1825. Dom Miguel, the youngest son of King João VI, revolted against the Government, and was banished for the first time in 1824.

In 1826 King João died, and his son Dom Pedro was proclaimed Emperor of Brazil; a military insurrection took place in 1827 and was suppressed with the help of British troops. British intervention induced King Pedro IV to abdicate in favour of his daughter Maria II. It was arranged that the Princess should marry her uncle Dom Miguel under the aegis of Great Britain, thus consolidating the monarchist parties and ending dissensions. Dom Miguel was invited to return to Portugal. Conferences took place in Vienna under the auspices of the British and Austrian representatives; a loan was raised in London; Dom Miguel arrived in Lisbon escorted by the British Fleet where he was proclaimed King and assumed the royal prerogatives contrary to the Vienna protocols. A liberal revolt broke out in Oporto and was suppressed, British troops and agents were active everywhere and there is no doubt that Britain was especially anxious to avoid anarchy and any pretext for Spanish intervention in Portugal.



Queen Maria II arrived in Europe in 1828. She went to London where her personal success in London society is described in the memoirs of the time. Officially she was not recognised as Queen, but a royal salute had been fired on her arrival. Her presence in England seriously embarrassed the Government. Princess Lieven wrote to her brother, Prince Metternich: "The arrival of the little Queen of Portugal in England adds another element of confusion to this strange business. . . . Her arrival is on the one hand an affront to Austria and on the other a real political embarrassment for England" (*Letters of Princess Lieven*, September/October, 1828, Page 154).

Wellington suggested that action should be taken to discourage the Queen from remaining in England; he looked upon her arrival as the work of the liberal party to force the British Government to take action on her behalf (*Wellington Despatches, Correspondence and Memoranda*, Vol. V, Page 60).

Portuguese refugees had been landed in Plymouth, where they were not treated as troops but as individuals. The British Government wanted to avoid the organisation of an army against a dependency of Portugal. "It would be discreditable to us", wrote Peel, "if such an event should take place." Wellington was of opinion that they should be dispersed and consequently the refugees, among whom were some of the most brilliant minds of Portugal, did not take home a good impression of England's hospitality so that friendly relations between the two countries were not strengthened. What Voltaire had done to make England known in Europe, the Portuguese refugees did to convince the people of Portugal that they had no friends in England.

Queen Maria da Gloria requested England's help for her cause, but Aberdeen replied that the British Government could only intervene in case of foreign invasion.

#### INTERPRETATION OF TREATIES <sup>(17)</sup>

Wellington had drawn up a Memorandum in Verona (1822) tracing the guiding principles of British foreign policy. He later stated that the new interpretation of the treaties made interference justifiable only in the event of foreign aggression. Canning argued that if the King of Great Britain placed his resources at the disposal of the King of Portugal he must have power to direct his foreign policy and no independent sovereign would accept such a condition. The usurpation of Dom Miguel was not of foreign growth, but was the act of the Nation at large.

In Portugal civil war was raging and after years of revolts and fights Dom Miguel was defeated and compelled to sign the

#### DECLARATION OF EVORA MONTE <sup>(18)</sup>

in 1834 by which he relinquished the throne of Portugal. Great Britain took part and protected Dom Miguel's life and private property.

Earlier in the same year the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance had been concluded between Portugal, Spain, France and Great Britain, to expel from the Iberian Peninsula the Infante Dom Miguel of Portugal and the Infante Don Carlos of Spain. This Treaty was signed in London on 22nd April. These two Princes maintained an agitation in the Peninsula that was considered dangerous for peace and the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance established co-operation between the powers to suppress it. Great Britain undertook to place her fleet at the disposal of the Supreme Command for use against the rebels, and unrest in Portugal continued.

#### TREATIES OF 1842 <sup>(19)</sup>

The industrialisation of England was progressing. The development of transport effected by the steam engine was changing the face of Europe and increasing the wealth of England, whilst Portugal lay impoverished by internal strife and the loss of Brazil. The slave trade was again responsible for a difference of opinion with Great Britain, where public opinion had been aroused against Portuguese traders. A Decree abolishing the traffic had been enacted in 1836, but nevertheless it became necessary to sign a Treaty with England on 3rd July, 1842, classifying the transport of slaves as piracy and making it punishable as such. Regulations were made regarding the seizure of the cargoes and the procedure was described in detail; special commissions were appointed to



try cases of slavery, and Portugal promised to enact laws punishing persons engaged in the slave trade. It was only in 1871 that modifications were introduced in the regulations of the Mixed Commissions and the powers of these bodies were transferred to the Courts of Justice. This was a source of quarrels and misunderstanding; it was feared in Portugal that the slave traders in the overseas territories would rebel and incite the slaves against the Government.

In addition to the Treaty on slavery another of the same date was signed modifying the treaties of commerce that prevailed and abolishing certain immunities which British traders enjoyed in Portugal, and this caused dissatisfaction.

The subjects of the two nations enjoyed the "most favoured nation" treatment and were free to travel, reside, occupy houses and dispose of leases. They were exempt from forced loans and their property was respected. No examination of their papers was admissible except if ordered by a competent judge. The Judge Conservator was no longer appointed by the English, freedom of religion was established and the practising of religious ceremonies was permitted, although the Protestant churches or chapels might not possess bells or steeples. British subjects were granted the right to bury their dead in cemeteries which they were allowed to purchase for that purpose; subjects of both powers were entitled to dispose by will of their property, and disputes were decided by the courts of justice where the property was situated. There was freedom to manage private affairs and no official intervention in the buying or selling of goods was to be permitted. There was reciprocal freedom of commerce and navigation and ships were to pay no higher duties than those paid by the most favoured nation. Imports and exports ceased to be liable to any special duty if carried in Portuguese or English ships, Portuguese ships were allowed to proceed direct from any Portuguese port to any port in the British or colonial dominions, and the goods carried were no longer subject to higher duties than those paid by goods in British vessels. This stipulation was reciprocal and British ships paid the same duty on their goods in Portuguese ports as Portuguese shipping. *Ad valorem* duties were to be calculated in such a way as to avoid all disputes and uncertainties. Commerce in the Portuguese dominions was no longer affected by monopolies or privileges of purchase and sale, with the exception of ivory, gold dust, soap, gun-powder and tobacco for home consumption. No deserter from one of the States might be employed by the other.

Great Britain gave up the right connected with Conservatorial Courts. British subjects were to enjoy the same rights as the Portuguese; they were to be tried by jury and could not be arrested without a warrant from a magistrate. A note annexed to the Treaty reads: "Her Majesty claims for British subjects in Portugal no privileges which are not enjoyed by Portuguese subjects in the Portuguese or British Dominions. Should political troubles affect the above mentioned guarantees, Her Majesty would be entitled to claim re-establishment of the privileges surrendered."

The period that followed these treaties was one of great internal disturbance in Portugal. After the civil war, the fight for the Constitution, and the loss of Brazil, the riches of Asia were no more the monopoly of the Crown, and the African colonies were not being settled. British enterprise was beginning to effect some improvement in Portugal; railways were built, bridges were constructed, mines were developed and steamship lines were established. Banking and trade relations, exports of wine, fruit, salt, sardines, props for coal mines, and other merchandise expanded quickly.

#### RELATIONS WITH GREAT BRITAIN FROM 1870 TO 1879.

A new era of auspicious relations supervened under the leadership of the Foreign Minister João de Andrade Corvo.

During the period of political instability and civil war in Spain between 1868 and 1876 relations between the Peninsular states were strained and the British Minister in Madrid was obliged to warn Spain in 1873 that Great Britain could not remain indifferent to any aggressive Spanish move against Portugal<sup>(20)</sup>. The European situation after the Franco-Prussian war was most dangerous for the small nations.

The Alliance was for the first time in the nineteenth century instrumental not only for the defence of the country but for the development of the overseas territories. Measures were taken to suppress slavery from the African colonies and to submit to Portuguese courts the capture of vessels seized in Portuguese waters. The impetus given to Africa by Cecil Rhodes and others was followed



by Corvo. He settled by arbitration<sup>(21)</sup> with Great Britain pending questions regarding the possession of territories in Lourenço Marques, he negotiated a treaty relating to Goa and granted a railway concession for its development. Steamship lines were established to the colonies as well as cables, roads, harbours and similar improvements. British capital was favoured, confidence was gained in London and had Corvo not left the government, many difficulties concerning Africa would have been avoided. As the expansion of Africa proceeded, the position of the Portuguese territories became more and more important, because the best ports of East and West Africa belonged to Portugal.

Corvo's policy was not continued and Anglo-Portuguese relations were not always harmonious, as the points of view were often divergent.

#### THE CONFERENCE OF BERLIN (1885)<sup>(22)</sup>

established freedom of trade in the Congo Basin and created the Congo Free State (that became the Belgian Congo) in between Angola and Moçambique. New interests appeared in Central Africa, and problems of great importance were discussed acrimoniously sometimes as in

#### THE CONFERENCE OF BRUSSELS (1889)<sup>(23)</sup>

where the abolition of alcohol and the slave trade were voted. The repression of the trade involved the honour of the smaller nations. The policing of the seas by the British Fleet which lasted from the forties to the seventies had caused so much trouble that it was feared that if a similar state of affairs was accepted again the results would be the same.

#### CECIL RHODES.

The extraordinary activity and capacity of this pioneer in Africa coincided with the occupation of Central Africa by Germany, France and Belgium. Portugal could not remain behind, but overseas her methods did not harmonise with those of Great Britain. Boundaries had to be defined, and lines of penetration to Central Africa had to be opened to international trade. Historical traditions were not considered as sufficient proofs of occupation, according to the principles adopted in the Conference of Berlin. Africa became the plague of the British Foreign Secretary, said Lord Salisbury. The necessary railway links of Central Africa, which Cecil Rhodes had discovered and was exploiting, opening up territories, building railways and developing their mineral riches were problems that had to be solved without delay. The British Government unwillingly was urged to press upon Portugal the solution of transport across its territories and many incidents created an atmosphere between the two countries that was not favourable to a good understanding.

#### TREATY OF 1891<sup>(24)</sup>

The incidents which led to the African treaty of 1891 would be too long to record here. Lord Salisbury went so far as to instruct his Minister in Lisbon to withdraw if instructions were not given to the Portuguese authorities in Africa according to British wishes. The Government in Lisbon seemed unaware of the gravity of the situation and of the consequences of a protracted policy, other powers interested in Africa and in Europe were not exactly promoting good understanding between the two allies, and the attitude of Great Britain was utilised for republican propaganda and for other ends. The Portuguese throne was shaken.

The Treaty of 11th June, 1891 fixed the African boundaries between Portuguese and British territory, established freedom of trade, religious propaganda and transit, as well as railway lines across East Africa and freedom of navigation in the Zambesi river.

The relations between the two countries were strained; Great Britain did not realise what had taken place in Portugal, nor the consequences.

When the Boer war was approaching, Great Britain feared that Portugal might declare its neutrality and consequently, under the clauses of the Treaty of 1875 with the Transvaal, give free passage for arms and munitions through Lourenço Marques.



Therefore the

#### DECLARATION OF 14TH OCTOBER, 1899 <sup>(25)</sup>

was signed in London, by an exchange of notes. Against the guarantee of the integrity of the Portuguese territories, Portugal promised not to declare its neutrality in the event of War between Great Britain and the Transvaal. Two articles of the Treaties of Alliance of 1642 and 1661 were considered in force; a formal treaty would have required ratification by Parliament and public discussion which would have revealed the secret Anglo-German agreement of 1898 relating to the Portuguese overseas territories.

#### RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS

After the Anglo-Boer War Portugal co-operated with Great Britain in South Africa and facilitated native labour recruitment in Moçambique for the mines in the Transvaal, railway communications through Lourenço Marques, and trade. In addition to this the British Fleet visited Portugal and friendly speeches were exchanged in which references were made to the Alliance.

Royal visits took place. First, in 1903 King Carlos went to London for the funeral of Queen Victoria, then King Edward VII returned the call in 1904. Here he is reported to have had conversations about the Alliance and since then the word "facilities" appears in the correspondence between the two Governments. Notes were exchanged each time the Government changed, promising that in the Portuguese ports of the Atlantic, coal and fuel depots as well as other facilities would not be granted to a third power without previous consultation between the two Governments. This arrangement which was never written, is said to embrace wireless, cables and other means of communication that might affect the defence of the Atlantic ports by the British Fleet.

#### AGREEMENT ON ARBITRATION.

Another Royal visit of King Carlos to England in 1904 showed how convenient was the *rapprochement*, and a Treaty of Arbitration was signed at Windsor declaring in the preamble that the ancient treaties of Alliance were confirmed.

#### THE ENTENTE CORDIALE

In 1905, H.B.M. Queen Alexandra visited Lisbon, just before the Kaiser's arrival.

France, Spain and Great Britain reached agreement over Morocco, but Germany protested.

Spain had opened negotiations with Great Britain on the questions of Gibraltar, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Islands and coast (Exchange of notes in 1907)<sup>(26)</sup>. Portugal was disturbed internally and externally; internally a very strong campaign was growing against the royal family, the republican party was gaining positions and King Carlos was losing prestige. The overseas territories were in an early stage of development and their future was being discussed secretly in the European Chanceries. Great Britain's policy was not to interfere in the internal affairs of the country and not to impose any *régime*; she would protect the royal family but would not take steps to consolidate the throne. The Monarchy fell suddenly and the Republic was proclaimed.

#### PROCLAMATION OF THE REPUBLIC <sup>(27)</sup>

Without any major disturbance the Republic was installed in Portugal in October, 1910. The surprise was great, both for the republican leaders, who did not expect such weak defence, and for the monarchists, who were completely unprepared for a fight, even with such small forces.

As soon as a Government was appointed assurances were given to Great Britain that the new *régime* would remain faithful to the traditional alliance. No Treaty was signed when the Republican Government was recognised by Great Britain (1911), the Treaties being between sovereigns and countries and not personal between sovereigns. Questions were numerous in the British Parliament and the answers were all in the same sense and confirmed the existence of the Alliance and its validity. Perpetual treaties subsisted as long as they were not cancelled. Questions arose concerning native labour in the Portuguese territories, shipping duties, customs, monopolies, etc., yet a Treaty of Commerce was signed in 1914 and not a word is said about Colonies.



## RENEWAL OF THE AGREEMENT ON ARBITRATION <sup>(28)</sup>

In 1914 the renewal of the agreement of arbitration that had been signed in Windsor in 1904, when King Carlos was the guest of King Edward, was worded in the same terms, but in the preamble instead of the "Government of Portugal" it is said the "Government of the Portuguese Republic". The old treaties of Alliance were reaffirmed without mention being made of the dates.

## WAR OF 1914 <sup>(29)</sup>

The Government of the Portuguese Republic declared that the country would remain neutral as long as the British alliance did not become operative.

In 1916 Portugal was officially invited by Great Britain to send troops to France, the Portuguese army to be under the British Supreme Command. No special treaty was concluded relating to military and naval co-operation.

## PEACE OF VERSAILLES <sup>(30)</sup>

Portugal was represented in Paris and obtained the return of the territory of Kionga, in the North of Moçambique, which the Germans had appropriated in 1894; she did not lose any territory. As in the Congress of Vienna, Portugal was disappointed with the results of the Conference, and meanwhile the situation deteriorated financially, economically and politically.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS <sup>(31)</sup>

Many contentious questions were settled by the League of Nations. Native labour, opium, and other problems were discussed and were the object of conventions. The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance was not altered; the Treaties were declared in Parliament to be valid and not subject to being registered in Geneva as they were made long before the League was organised. The British Government had given full support to Portugal in Macao in 1922 without referring the question to the League. In 1927 it declared in Parliament that the Treaties of Alliance were in force and that the obligations of Great Britain were as always to defend Portugal against an unprovoked attack. The British fleet visited Portugal several times before the Spanish civil war and both admirals and the British Ambassadors referred to the Alliance as being in full force.

When the new *régime* was established in Portugal in 1926 relations with Great Britain continued unchanged and no treaty was signed.

## THE WAR OF 1939 <sup>(32)</sup>

broke out in September when the Spanish civil war had just finished. Portugal declared her neutrality in agreement with England (Churchill); the British fleet was not able to defend Portugal if she entered the war. Many questions regarding neutrality, supplies, navicerts, landcerts, etc., arose, until finally in 1943 Great Britain invoked the Alliance and requested Portugal to cede the Azores as bases for operations against the Germans. A Convention was signed on 17th August, 1943, regulating the utilisation of those islands by the British Armed Forces.

The British note of 16th June, 1943, says: "His Majesty's Government have, therefore, decided in the name of the Alliance which has existed between Portugal and Great Britain for six hundred years, to ask the Portuguese Government facilities of which they stand in need in the Azores. They most earnestly trust that the Portuguese Government will in principle agree to this, leaving for future discussion and mutual agreement the precise conditions governing the grant of such facilities. In the event of any threat to Portugal and the Portuguese Empire developing in consequence of an affirmative response by the Portuguese Government to the appeal now made to them by H.M. Government on the basis of the Alliance, I am authorised to inform Your Excellency that H.M. Government in the United Kingdom are prepared not only to guarantee the withdrawal of their forces from the Azores at the end of the hostilities, but also to give assurances regarding the maintenance of Portuguese sovereignty over all the Portuguese colonies. I am authorised to



"add that H.M. Government in the Union of South Africa have associated themselves with these assurances and there is reason to believe that similar assurances will be forthcoming from the Government of the United States."

## CONCLUSIONS

The six hundred years of political alliance are remarkable for the recurrence of certain factors making for the unity and co-operation of two such widely different peoples. It is surprising that, despite divergences in ideals, education, religion and temperament, these nations should have been so closely associated for so long as a result of common fears and dangers.

The alliance of France and Castille, the traditional enemies of Britain and Portugal respectively, first persuaded the two countries during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to turn to each other for aid and assistance against their powerful enemies. When Portugal expanded overseas in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries England obtained privileges for her commerce. England provided a ready market for the vast trade of the Portuguese Empire, while trading concessions were negotiated more from the economic than the political point of view.

The expansion of Spain had repercussions in the Peninsula and all over Europe. At the end of the fifteenth century when Spain annexed Portugal, England tried in vain to obtain in Paris the necessary support to persuade Philip II not to carry out his plan. Relations between England and Portugal suffered during the sixty years of occupation, trade with England was interrupted until the Treaty of 1604 with Spain, and the Alliance with Portugal was never more mentioned. British trade secured positions overseas and by the time Portugal recovered her independence, some valuable towns, markets and ports had been permanently lost. Powerful trading companies had been formed and strong English, French and Dutch interests were making themselves felt in the world. The progress of science, of cartography, and of the art of navigation was no longer a monopoly of the Peninsula, the more so as the Jews expelled from Portugal who settled in Holland took with them valuable information and industries (such as diamond cutting).

At the end of the seventeenth century the hegemony of France was undisputed, the Duke of Bragança, King João IV of Portugal, obtained substantial help from France in 1640, when the independence of the country was proclaimed; Charles I of England lacked the necessary resources to lend Portugal the same military assistance. Nevertheless trade relations were re-established and English merchants soon recovered their share in the Portuguese market, and thus assisted in the economic development of Portugal. More than political considerations influenced the negotiations, shipping and liberty of conscience were tackled by a treaty. King Charles I was a friend of the King of Spain and did not want to hurt him by signing with Portugal a treaty of defensive alliance. A real and true affection was promised between the sovereigns and the peoples, there would be a perpetual peace and amity between them, none would adhere to war against the other or counsel or treaty against the other.

No military assistance was foreseen.

The treaty negotiated by Cromwell in 1654 although containing no political or military clauses reaffirmed the old friendship and introduced guarantees respecting trade and religion. Portugal was allowed to recruit men in England and Ireland for her war against Spain.

When the Restoration took place in England, a new treaty with Portugal was negotiated. The marriage of Catherine of Bragança brought the two countries closer together, while the treaty promised military and naval assistance and full co-operation; Portugal ceded Tangiers and Bombay. Thereafter, British policy towards Portugal concentrated upon maintaining peace with Spain and France, avoiding friction and securing favourable conditions for her trade in Portugal and overseas, especially in Brazil. The ties of friendship between the royal families contributed to the unity of the nations. When the King of Portugal tended to favour France and Spain at the end of the seventeenth century England sent an Embassy to Portugal in order to induce Portugal to sign a treaty of mutual military assistance against Spain and France. Neither England nor Portugal might remain neutral in case of an attack by the enemy powers, and trade and common interests were promoted.



At Utrecht, thanks to England's good offices, Spain recognised Portugal's independence and signed a treaty of peace, which was guaranteed by England.

The policy of Europe changed with the independence of America and with the French revolution; England's lines of communication and her trade routes had to be defended if her supremacy was to be maintained. Portugal could not remain neutral in a war between France and England and Great Britain had to protect her interests and those of Portugal. At the beginning of the nineteenth century she occupied strategic points on the coast of Portugal, and assisted the escape of the royal family to Brazil. Military co-operation followed and decisive battles were fought in Portugal against the French. The influence of French ideals in politics, coupled with the contacts between the various nations at war, determined changes in politics which had extensive repercussions. The Portuguese throne was shaken. A liberal constitution enacted in Cadiz had been copied in Portugal, Brazil proclaimed its independence, Spain showed signs of unrest, while Great Britain aimed at maintaining peace in the Peninsula for obvious reasons. She forestalled foreign aggression or intervention in Portugal and expanded her trade overseas, especially with Brazil. Internal agitation in Portugal was considerable, and civil war raged for many years exposing the country to foreign intervention.

When peace was finally established in Europe new problems arose. Africa was the object of attention of the European Chanceries and it became necessary to settle problems of lines of communication between England and Portugal in the dark continent, boundaries between territories that were being occupied, and native labour for the development of the riches that were being exploited by large capital organisations.

Portugal in East and West Africa, south of the Equator holds the best ports and the shortest lines of penetration to the Central African Territories, where the mines were discovered and co-operation became essential, but friction was also unavoidable, as the expansionist forces were so dissimilar. Changes were taking place in all countries thanks to the progress of science. Other powers were asserting their rights in the expanding world trade, and Britain and Portugal could no longer discuss their interests in Africa or Asia untroubled by other States. Others wanted a share in the partition of the undeveloped continents; international conferences had to be called to discuss matters that a few years ago would have concerned only the two nations. Biassed opinion sometimes complicated the problems and their solution.

The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance was not renewed in the last decades of the nineteenth century and since the Treaty signed at Vienna in 1815 no other formal document was concluded. In the preambles of treaties of commerce, arbitration and boundaries the treaties of Alliance were referred to, without mentioning dates or clauses of previous treaties. However, before the Boer War broke out, England secured a promise of Portugal not declaring her neutrality together with a note asserting the validity of two clauses of the treaties of the seventeenth century. By this note Britain promised to take Portugal and her possessions under her special care and to guarantee her territories against foreign attack. Since 1899, the preambles of all treaties have referred to the alliance without defining it. One point has always been stressed: the obligation of Great Britain to defend Portugal from unprovoked attack.

The word "facilities" that appeared after the British royal visits to Portugal in 1904 and 1905 shows the necessity of flexibility in the relations between the two countries that corresponds to the changing conditions of the world. This expression was at first to mean facilities in the Atlantic Ports for fuelling and similar operations of the British Fleet, and gradually its meaning was extended to wireless posts, to cables and other communications; finally in 1943, when the Azores were ceded to Great Britain as bases of operations, the word "facilities" was used as the most suitable. The best interpretation of the treaties lies in the spirit and the tradition and not only in the letter, as Lord Aberdeen said in 1829.

The Marquis of Pombal compared the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance to a marriage and said that quarrels between husband and wife were not settled according to civil law, but according to the friendly understanding between the parties. The British Minister in Portugal in 1878 (Morier) writing to the Portuguese Foreign Minister (Corvo) expressed himself in similar vein saying that it was better to leave the interpretation of the texts to the friendly spirit of the Governments. "*Votre cause c'est notre cause.*" . . . Pombal wrote in 1760 that Great Britain was the only country



with which it was convenient for Portugal to maintain an alliance as it was the only one whose interests coincided with hers. He warned one of his Ambassadors against possible attempts to weaken the ties of friendship that unite Portugal to Great Britain.<sup>(33)</sup> In case of war Portugal's harbours are essential for the defence of Great Britain and therefore the independence of Portugal is a necessity for her strategic position. It is worth noting that Lord Palmerston, writing to Lord John Russell in August, 1847, said that the advantages of the Alliance were "many, great and obvious ; commercial, political, military and naval ; and if we were to lose them, some of them "would become formidable weapons of attack against us in the hands of a hostile Power. For "instance the naval position of the Tagus ought never to be in the hands of any Power whether "French or Spanish, which might become hostile to England, and it is only by maintaining Portugal "in its separate existence and in its intimate state of alliance with England that we can be sure of "having the Tagus as a friendly, instead of its being a hostile, naval station. . . ." <sup>(34)</sup>

Writing in 1870<sup>(35)</sup> the Portuguese Foreign Minister Andrade Corvo said : "The traditions of "our foreign policy and the important interests that unite us to England are powerful motives for us "not to loosen the ties of Alliance that exist with that nation. . . . In England Portugal will always "find the powerful and faithful ally of so many centuries. . . . The relations of the United States "and Europe are daily more active." The Republic of the United States of America, attracted by "her sympathy with the democratic movement in Europe and under the influence of commercial "interests, tends to unite herself more and more with the old continent and is impelled by her great- "ness to enter the movement of civilisation and the political life of the European States, thus requiring "free access to Europe.

"The geographical position of Portugal with the Islands of Azores situated on the way to America "shows that Portugal is the European State whose relations may be more profitable to America. "Portugal with regard to North America is the frontier of Europe, as Belgium is for Great Britain "with regard to the European Continent. Once the neutrality of Portugal is guaranteed the United "States would have free access to Europe with evident benefits for the American Republic and for "Portugal. In order to take advantage of such policy it is self-evident that we should adopt great "changes in our commercial and colonial system to attract American trade to Portugal."

The Prime Minister, Dr. Salazar, said in 1936 that Portugal relied always on the support of Great Britain and that nothing could modify the ties that exist between the two nations—The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance exists and will continue to exist. . . .